



Navigating Resistance to Anti-racist & Anti-oppressive Curriculum: A Case Study of a Diverse Public University in the U.S. Southwest

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Abstract:

How can women of color, insurgent scholar activists advance the inclusion of diversity, equity and inclusion courses in university curriculum? How can we navigate resistance to antiracist and anti-oppressive curriculum in a diverse public university through counter narratives? The data for this study come from autoethnographic reflections and counterstories we developed in response to the resistance we encountered in implementing a diversity requirement at a public university in the Southwest. We draw on critical race theory, critical race feminism, intersectionality and the concepts of colorblind racism, white fragility, ideological and material fetishes to map the ideologies and practices that produce resistance to the inclusion of antiracist and intersectional anti-oppressive curriculum in a diverse public university in the Southwest. We employ Fine's (1991) concepts of the ideological fetish (distraction) of "good intentions" and material fetishes. In addition, we draw on Collins (2009) "working the cracks" across the structural, disciplinary power to stop the inclusion of anti-oppressive curriculum. We use the concept of "trucos" (tricks) as a conceptual tool in which barriers are erected by those in positions of structural and disciplinary power to stop the inclusion of anti-oppressive curriculum and ways we come up with our own tricks to advance transformative and liberatory curricular projects. By building communities of practice and social networks committed to inclusive excellence, critical pedagogy & anti-oppressive praxis we can advance social justice transformations.

Keywords: antiracist curriculum, anti-oppressive curriculum, critical race theory/feminism; diversity, equity and inclusion

Navigating Resistance to Anti-racist & Anti-oppressive Curriculum: A Case Study of a Diverse Public University in the U.S. Southwest

Recognizing the transformative potential of courses on power, privilege and oppression for advancing critical consciousness and lifelong learning about the urgency to develop innovative solutions to entrenched and intersecting historic and on-going social inequalities, a group of women of color faculty who were also members of the Diversity Collaborative (DC) at Southwest Public University (SPU) a majority-minority institution of higher education, envisioned developing a university wide graduation requirement that could be met with courses that already existed across disciplines, departments, programs and colleges. The common thread that would unite these courses as meeting the proposed diversity requirement is that their primary focus vis-a-vis readings, class-based projects, and other learning activities were anchored in self-reflexivity about one's own social location in systems of power, privilege and disadvantage as well the dynamics of oppression, inequality and resistance in terms of race, gender, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and disability or other marginalized status.

A group of women of color faculty (SPU) all of whom had decades of expertise in conducting research, teaching and leading diversity and inclusion programs worked tirelessly to institutionalize the first three-credit "U.S. & Global Diversity & Inclusion" undergraduate graduation requirement in a majority-minority state in the U.S. Southwest. The institutionalization of this requirement would require creating a rubric for classes that meet the requirement, then a request to faculty to submit classes for review to the Diversity Collaborative Curriculum committee to be included in the list of classes students could take to meet the requirement. During this stage, a number of faculty teaching world languages submitted their syllabi for review. The committee made a decision not to include world languages if they do not meet the criteria in the rubric. White faculty and administrators (both men and women) who had no track record of scholarship, teaching or service in equity and inclusion were immediately oppositional. These faculty administrators argued that world

languages should automatically count because the process of learning a world language inherently addresses “cultural difference.” Secondly, they argued that many students (particularly those in the math, engineering, science and technology fields), already have a very regimented curriculum with little room for “extra” [read: superfluous and unnecessary] graduation requirements. Administrators affirmed: “We already have low graduation rates so we don’t want to burden students with any extra courses that may delay their graduation.”

Our counter narrative was immediate: “We are also very concerned about improving graduation rates. There is a growing body of research in K-12 and also in higher education that demonstrates that courses on power, privilege, oppression and social justice benefit *all* students. These courses are particularly impactful for students that tend to have low graduation rates, namely racial and ethnic minorities.” We pointed out that counting all world languages as fulfilling the diversity requirement would effectively nullify the policy change because students are already required to take a world language. During this process, perhaps our most impactful argument was our insistence that taking a world language does not automatically guarantee that issues of inequality, oppression and social justice would be the primary focus of the class. There is a significant difference between awareness of justice, oppression and violence and second language acquisition.

Through academic bullying, bureaucratic interferences and potential violations of the faculty handbook procedures, white faculty administrators, again none of whom had a record of scholarship or teaching in areas of equity and inclusion, remained firm in their conviction that world languages should automatically count as fulfilling the diversity requirement because students should not be burdened with “extra” requirements. After much consideration about the time it would take to file a grievance with the academic freedom and tenure committee, we agreed to include world languages in order to get the “U.S. and Global Diversity and Inclusion” requirement and student learning outcomes officially listed in the SPU catalog. Our strategic political calculation was that once the requirement was formally on the

books, we would use one of the master's tools—namely the approved student learning outcomes and assessment tools, which all focused on social justice related social outcomes that centered oppression, discrimination and empowerment—to justify the exclusion of courses that did not meet the student learning outcomes. If a particular world language classes met the student learning outcomes, they would be allowable, but a blanket inclusion of all world languages would be problematic. It would take another full year of meetings and organizing before the proviso that all world languages *automatically* counted as meeting the diversity requirement was removed. Our long-term goals include using the language of “continual improvement” to implement faculty professional development opportunities and expand the requirement to encompass more than one course, including a capstone that would require the application of equity and inclusion issues in their field whether law, STEM, humanities, health sciences or social sciences, etcetera.

We tell this story in order to bring to light the daily struggles and strategic maneuvers experienced and executed by scholar activists and particularly those of us who are visible minorities and specifically women of color. Because of the increasing corporatization of higher education, universities operate more like corporations that are beholden to market forces rather than public universities that embrace critical inquiry, civic engagement and prioritizing the academic success of historically marginalized communities. We also want to bring into sharp relief that social justice transformations are a long-term project that will require strategic calculations and maneuvers if we are to make progress. Ultimately what is at work here was a key tenet of critical race theory, namely “interest convergence.” Interest convergence refers to the dynamic where “the interests of African Americans [and people of color] in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when that converges with the interests of Whites who are in policy-making positions” (Bell, 2004, p. 69). In the end, regardless of intent, privilege and unequal oppressive power relations are reproduced unless there is a plan to fight back using arguments that can be cannot be

easily refuted. Armed with an arsenal of counter stories that spoke to issues of interest convergence, we were able to successfully institute the diversity requirement.

This story also raises compelling questions: How can faculty, who see their roles as “interrupters” of the status quo, particularly women of color, successfully navigate the powerful ideologies and institutional power structures that regardless of “good intentions” undermine diversity and inclusion? What are the ideologies that surface to create push back on diversity and inclusion requirements in the curriculum? Who owns the curriculum? Who has academic freedom? What should peer reviewers look like for equity and inclusion curriculum? How can “the master’s tools” and in this case, student learning outcomes, evaluations and assessments, and peer review be leveraged to transform institutions of higher education for advancing social justice?

The purpose of this paper is to provide a case study of how women of color critical scholar activists navigated the resistance to institutional change that seeks to advance equity and inclusion curriculum in a diverse large public university in the U.S. Southwest. As a multi-racial and multi-ethnic and multi-cultural identifying group of women of color scholars, co-authors included--three Latinas (two Chicana/Mexicana/Mestizas; one Dominican/AfroLatina); one Indigenous; and one Asian--all visible racial and ethnic minorities. As the founding and active members of what we are calling the “Southwest Public University (SPU) Diversity Collective (DC)” (2010-2015), we share some of the lessons we learned about how to advance social justice transformations in higher education curriculum.

Our theoretical guideposts include critical race theory and critical race feminism (Berry, 2010/2014; Collins, 2009; Fine, 1991; Gillborn, 2008; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006; MacKinnon, 2013; Mizelle, 2010; Montoya, 1994; Sedillo-López, 2005; Wing, 1997), intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; Collins, 2009; Collins and Bilge 2016), racial formation theory (Omi & Winant, 2015) and colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). This analysis comes from reflections on our experiences within what Collins (2009) refers to as the matrix of domination. The matrix of domination

consists of two dimensions: first, what Collins refers to a particular arrangement of intersecting systems of racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, etc.; and second, a particular hierarchical organization of power at four different levels including, 1.) structural arrangement (entrenched institutional arrangements and enduring patterns of power); 2.) disciplinary mechanisms of social control (institutional techniques of surveillance and rules of the game); 3.) the interpersonal level (individual acts of everyday resistance through counter stories); 4.) the hegemonic level (ideologies that work in concert with the aforementioned levels of power).

We also employ Fine's (1991) concepts of ideological and material fetishes, even though we understand that the term "fetish" can be associated with heteronormativity. However, for the purposes of our argument here, we want to use the term "fetish" as a way of talking about the ways in which people in positions of power constantly repeated master narratives that obfuscate, confuse, distract and continually derailed efforts aimed at implementing diversity and inclusion curriculum. For each fetish (distraction) we encountered we provide our counter story. We also advance "trucos" (tricks) as a conceptual tool that has double meaning. Trucos can signify the ways in which barriers are erected by those in positions of power to stop the inclusion of anti-oppressive curriculum; and, trucos can mean the ways we utilized counter stories to navigate and resist the institutional barriers and roadblocks.

This paper is organized into three parts. First we describe our theoretical guideposts and provide some of the context of Southwest Public University (SPU). Second, we describe the fetishes (distractions) and trucos (tricks) we confronted and utilized throughout every step of the process¹. Our weapons of choice included counter storytelling—speaking truth to power-- and organizing networks of diverse faculty, staff and student allies across campus to work toward our goal of instituting the diversity requirement. And finally, we end with a discussion of how Audre

¹ For a visual representation of these domains please see Appendix C

Lorde's (1984) construct of the "masters tools" (e.g., principles of academic freedom and peer review, assessment of student learning outcomes, and providing evidence based research showing the benefits for equity-based learning outcomes for advancing students success through critical thinking and lifelong civic engagement, etc.) can provide some direction for others working toward advancing social transformations in curriculum anchored in diversity, equity, inclusion and social justice.

Theoretical Guideposts and Anchoring Concepts

Critical Race Theory

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2012), "the critical race theory (CRT) movement is a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power" (p. 2). Its theoretical history is tied to critical legal studies with authors such as Derrick Bell who were frustrated by the re-morphing of racism after the civil rights movement. It also draws from ethnic studies and US third world feminisms (Sleeter, 2002). Scholars like Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) and Gilborn (2008) have brought the conversation to education.

According to Sleeter (2002), CRT's contributions to liberatory education are that: 1) it forefronts race yet addresses the intersectionality of racism, classism, sexism, and other forms of oppression; 2) it challenges Eurocentric epistemologies, ontologies and dominant ideologies such as meritocracy, objectivity, and neutrality; and 3) it utilizes counter storytelling as a methodological and pedagogical tool.

Scholars of color, particularly those in higher education, have always been aware of the ways that race, racism, and power operate in curriculum, assessment, instruction, and policy. In the mid-1990s Hiraldo (2010) examined the relevance of CRT tenets in higher education. Particularly noteworthy was his discussion of the fifth tenet – critique of liberalism. Drawing on the work of Ladson-Billings and Patton, McEwen, Rendon, & Howard-Hamilton, he states:

The lack of inclusivity in the academic curriculum (Ladson-Billings, 1998) and student development theory used by student affairs professionals (Patton et al., 2007) supports the notion of colorblindness that works against dismantling social inequities. In order to take a closer step towards eradicating racism on college campuses, student and academic affairs need to incorporate dialogues around race throughout the curriculum and student activities (Patton et al). Institutions of higher education must recognize and work toward dismantling colorblind policies (Iverson, 2007) (pp. 56-57).

Critical Race Feminisms and Intersectionality

As knowledge projects anchored in social justice, intersectionality projects and particularly critical race feminism, offer important conceptual and methodological tools for understanding and mapping the contemporary social dynamics contributing to education inequities in the United States (Berry 2010, 2014, 2015; Collins 2009; Collins & Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1991; Falcon 2016; Ford & Airhihenbuwa 2010; Ford & Harawa 2010; Hurtado 1996; Landry 2006; López & Gadsden 2016; Schultz & Mullings 2005; Wing, 1997).

Intersectional inquiry, ontologies and praxis dates have a rich history that dates back for over a century (Collins 2000; Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1993; Hancock 2016; Morris 2016). In her groundbreaking piece entitled, “Mapping The Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color,” Critical Race Feminist Legal Scholar Crenshaw (1993) coins the word “intersectionality” and invites each of us to contemplate the following question: “How are the experiences of women of color the product of intersecting patterns of racism & sexism?” Crenshaw argues that we need to shift the question from which is more important, race/racism or gender/sexism to how do they interact in complex social and systemic ways of knowing and being. Crenshaw offers three domains where we interrogate intersecting inequalities that center the lives of Black women as well as other racially stigmatized women: (1) structural intersectionality, which focuses on the unique social locations of women of color in systems of inequality; (2) political intersectionality, which focuses on how the lived experiences of women of color are centered (or more often than not marginalized) even within progressive movements

that are identified as “antiracist” (read: anchored in the experiences of men of color and “feminist” (read: anchored in the experiences of white women); and (3) representational intersectionality, which explores how popular culture and the mass media as well as visual representations embedded in the fabric of our society serve as sites where women of color may be further marginalized and disempowered².

In her landmark book, *Black Feminist Thought*, Patricia Hill Collins (2009) provides the concept of the matrix of domination as a heuristic and ontological device for conceptualizing intersectionality in the neoliberal university. The first dimension of the matrix includes intersecting systems of oppression, such as race/racism, gender/patriarchy, class/classism, sexual orientation/heterosexism, age/ageism, disability/ableism, and ethnicity/ethnicity among other systemic oppressions. The second facet of the matrix includes a particular arrangement of hierarchical power relations, at the structural, disciplinary, interpersonal and hegemonic levels. For example, at the structural level we can see how neoliberal market logics are used to justify funding formulas that reward public institutions of higher education for graduating Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) but not social sciences, education and humanities, fields that would most likely house equity and inclusion content courses and pedagogies. These structural power relations can be contested when counter stories are employed to show that colorblind and merit based funding formulas and scholarship privilege the already privileged and when we show data about the lifelong learning benefits of courses on power, privilege and social justice. Power relations can also be engaged by scholar activists in terms of the disciplinary level or the techniques of surveillance and rules of the game. One example would be the issue of academic freedom and peer review can be leveraged to advance equity and inclusion, even in the neoliberal university. At the interpersonal level, power can be engaged by scholar activists through everyday resistance and strategic moves, such as through creating networks of faculty, student,

² For a visual representation of these domains please see Appendix C

staff and community allies that can form trusting relationships and work in concert to advance counter stories to dominant neoliberal discourses. And finally, the last level of power that Collins pays particular attention to is the hegemonic (ideological) domain of power. She describes this level as the crosscutting “glue” that connects all these levels of power through the use of ideas and ideology. While the hegemonic domain of power aims to achieve social control, and suppress dissent through dominant ideologies, there are always moments and social movements that engage in counter-hegemony and resistance to domination and oppression in the form of social justice projects.³ For example a controlling image of racial and ethnic minority students in higher education is that they are deficit and ill prepared to succeed in a four-year college. A counter narrative could be that racial and ethnic minority students bring a wealth of knowledge to the university classroom and they can succeed if there is a commitment to inclusive classroom pedagogies and institutional praxis.

Colorblind Racism

In his provocative book, *Colorblind Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, Bonilla-Silva (2009) critically examines the paradoxical situation whereby we could have on-going structural inequalities in so many domains but yet, unlike prior to the Civil Rights Movement, few would publicly identify themselves as racists. Elected under the campaign slogan: “Make America Great Again,” the presidential campaign of President Donald Trump, uses coded language and says that he does not endorse anti-Semitism or racism against racial and ethnic minorities. To explain this new normal, Bonilla-Silva unearthed several pathways for interpreting racial phenomenon that have become dominant in the post-Civil Rights era: (1) the naturalization racial frame or the idea that if there is segregation or other inequality, it is the byproduct of natural occurring individual preferences; (2) the cultural racism frame, which explicates on-going educational inequities in terms of the presumed cultural deficits

³ For a visual representation of the matrix of domination, see Diagram D.

of racially stigmatized groups; (3) the abstract liberal racial frame that works by decontextualizing the real lived experiences of racial and ethnic minorities by departing from the premise that we live in a meritocracy where historic and on-going inequities among entire categories of people reflect differences in individual level talents; and finally (4) the minimization racial frame or the idea that racism is mostly isolated and only a phenomenon in the past, can be used to dismiss the need for diversity and inclusion curriculum as irrelevant—after all we live in a post racial society that elected the first African American president—thus structural, systemic and institutionalized racism has magically disappeared. What is most powerful about these frames is that they work concert to reproduce structural racism all in seemingly “colorblind” and “smiling face” fashion.

The Social Construction of Whiteness and White Fragility

In her book, *White Women, Race Matters*, Frankenberg (1993) defines whiteness as a both social location and as set of practices that maintain and reproduce white privilege and advantage—even among women who all describe themselves as feminists from different regions of the country, different age groups, different ethnicities, social classes and sexual orientation (For a similar analysis among men see Hughey on hegemonic whiteness). Frankenberg’s definition of whiteness recognizes that there may be “honorary whites,” or “off-white,” or individuals that may be visible minorities that nevertheless are located in positions of structural advantage and engage in practices, profess ideologies and allocate resources that maintain white hegemony in the neoliberal university (Bonilla-Silva 2002; Gómez 2007).

DiAngelo (2005) explains the importance of understanding the social construction of whiteness for advancing social justice; she argues that “Whiteness Studies begin with the premise that racism and white privilege exist in both traditional and modern forms, and rather than work to prove its existence, work to reveal it” (p. 55). DiAngelo also (2011) synthesized the problem with mainstream multicultural curricula:

Not all multicultural courses or training programs talk directly about racism,

much less address white privilege. It is far more the norm for these courses and programs to use racially coded language such as “urban,” “inner city,” and “disadvantaged” but to rarely use “white” or “over advantaged” or “privileged.” This racially coded language reproduces racist images and perspectives while it simultaneously reproduces the comfortable illusion that race and its problems are what ‘they’ have, not us. (p. 55)

DiAngelo (2011) also argues that it is important to name the resistance that is often encountered by transformational antiracist scholars and community leaders as “white fragility”:

If and when an educational program does directly address racism and the privileging of whites, common white responses include anger, withdrawal, emotional incapacitation, guilt, argumentation, and cognitive dissonance (all of which reinforce the pressure on facilitators to avoid directly addressing racism). So-called progressive whites may not respond with anger, but may still insulate themselves via claims that they are beyond the need for engaging with the content because they ‘already had a class on this’ or ‘already know this.’” (p. 55)

DiAngelo (2005) argues that white fragility flourishes because of the structural conditions that insulate Whites from facing the reality of racism as systemic and not merely a matter of individual “prejudice.”

Distracting Discourses: Ideological and Material Fetishes in Higher Education

Fine (1991) uses the concept of fetishes (distractions and mystifications) for shining a light on the ways in which educational inequalities are reproduced. We recognize the term “fetish” can have heteronormative associations. However, for the purposes of our argument here, we want to use the term “fetish” as a way of talking about the ways in which people constantly repeated neoliberal master narratives that derailed the implementation of diversity and inclusion curriculum. Fine, defines fetishes as “frames for papering over contradictory and unpredictable pieces of institutional life.” Fetishes “can circulate at the level of ideology, institutional and material arrangements” (p. 181). A common thread linking ideological fetishes to institutional and material fetishes can be witnessed in the devaluing of the work of women of color faculty, structural locations in positions that are not tenured or by

devaluing their scholarly expertise in issues of equity and inclusion. Material fetishes operate via “entrenched behavior and resource allocations,” (p. 1845) and can include: (1) “the removal of bodies, the silencing of voices, and the undermining of subjectivities,” (pp. 184-185) and the (2) “hierarchical commitment to power asymmetries across and within relationships of educators, students” (pp. 184-185).

Radical Contextualization of the U.S. Southwest: Historical and On-Going Settler Colonialism

Before describing the ideological, institutional and material fetishes we encountered in the neoliberal university as well as the counter stories and trucos we used to challenge these distractions, it is important to engage in what Chapman and Berggren (2005) call “radical contextualization.” Radical contextualization involves shining a light on the mechanisms that reproduce inequalities (Dei, 2005; Smith, 2012; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). We also invoke Nakano-Glenn’s (2015) concept of “settler colonialism as structure” as a lens through which we can understand the historic and on-going nature of power relations in the Southwest:

Scholars of settler colonialism argue that it is a distinct form of colonialism that needs to be theorized separately from colonialism more generally. In contrast to classic colonialism whose aim is to take advantage of resources that will benefit the *metropole*, settler colonialism’s objective is to acquire land so that colonists can settle permanently and form new communities. (p.55)

There is a long history of racialized power difference in the state that needs to be recognized and understood in gaining insight into the power differentials that currently exist in higher education and the impact they have in terms of students’ education. Historically, the state educational system evolved under the governance of three colonizing nations – Spain, Mexico and the United States. Under each period various aspects of diversity, equity, equality, excellence, and accountability developed and began to impact education in general (Mondragon & Stapleton, 2005). The state is older in its European settlement than any other state and had the earliest Native American origins. The state’s history of making education readily available to the

more affluent settlers, the marginalization of Native Americans who were plucked from their families at an early age and sent away to indoctrinating boarding schools, and the manner in which Spanish speakers were shamed and punished for speaking Spanish when the state became part of the United States created wounds that probably continue to live in the psyche of our most marginalized populations in the state. Educational history has a way of empowering or disempowering certain groups and for the state where SPU is located, this history is relevant and a determinant impacting graduation and retention rates. One can presume that it would be easier, given the condition described about the state's history, to obtain buy-in for a diversity requirement (e.g., Gómez, 2008; Nakano Glenn, 2015).

Founded in the late nineteenth century, Southwestern Public University (SPU) was established to educate the children of white settlers. It was not until student movements in the mid-twentieth century demanded greater access for the Hispanic/Latina/o/x, Native American, African American, and other students of color at the university, that there was an increase in the number of students from traditionally underrepresented backgrounds at the University.

The university seal, last revised in the 1960s, is perhaps one of the most visible images that can be used to uncover what Crenshaw (1993) has called “representational intersectionality.” An iconic disempowering image of settler colonialism, the university seal features a White Settler and a White Spanish Conquistador, with weapons in tow. The presence of mestizo (mixed Spanish, Native and Africans from the state) or any other racial or ethnic communities is rendered invisible. The inclusion of a bird tokenizes the presence of indigenous people in the state. Women of any background are absent. The collective resistance to the university seal features a list of demands from indigenous students, families and communities, such as increasing the presence of Native Faculty and Staff in positions of power, adequately supporting Native American Studies initiatives and scholarships as well as removing and replacing the seal with an empowering image that speaks to

the centuries of survival of indigenous people in the state.⁴ University administrators responded to student demands through inaction and by ignoring or trivializing the long history of settler colonialism in the state. Through their actions, administrators conveyed that Native American students were just another “interest group,” like any other student club on campus.

Martínez’s (2010) critical ethnography of a public high school in New Mexico provides a window to the on-going dynamics of settler colonialism as seen in the relationship between curriculum and political power in the Southwest. Her research revealed that the cultural production of an educated person is complex because it entails a detailed analysis of knowledge, epistemology, and worldviews. Martínez identified high schools as sites of struggle where Indigenous youth were faced with decisions about course selection.

These insights can be applied to an examination of the status of equity and inclusion curriculum in universities like SPU where all students must navigate the landscape of core courses required for the general university core, degrees, professional certification, and those courses that are relegated to the status of “electives.” More often than not, this includes multiple entities, including academic advisors, faculty, and peers guide students as they engage in curriculum selection. It is at this critical moment of course selection that pedagogy and both the student and the institution determine political values of knowledge. The institution has the power to identify courses that meets the standards or student learning outcomes of diversity and inclusion. And this is precisely the site where fetishes work in concert to undermine the institution of diversity and inclusion curriculum at SPU.

One ideological fetish that is often invoked is accomplished through prominent visual representations of SPU students, strategically curated to feature a “diverse” student population. Classified as a research intensive Hispanic-Serving

⁴ Other settler colonial visual representations are peppered through the main library in the form of murals depicting white settlers as scientists and the epitome of “civilization,” while and Native Americans as potters and Mestizo Mexican/Chican@s as farmer. In these depictions men are centered and women are props.

Institution (HSI) with a majority-minority student population, the 2014 entering class was 35% Hispanic, 11% Native American, 4% African American and 15% from other diverse groups including international students. The majority of students come from the state, which is 47% Hispanic, 10% Native American; just over a third of the state is Non-Hispanic white. As one of the poorest states in the union the poverty rates for racial and ethnic minorities children range from 25-60% compared to ten percent for whites. Numerous studies conducted at SPU have revealed that racial disparities in recruitment, retention, and graduation rates persist despite previous interventions. For every underrepresented group six-year graduation rates are well below the stated average 47%; Native Americans have the lowest graduation rate, followed by African Americans and Hispanics. What is less celebrated in the university is the reality that over two-thirds of the faculty is Non-Hispanic White; moreover the graduate student composition does not reflect the diversity of the undergraduate students.

The Diversity Collaborative: A Convergence Space for Cultivating Networks of Resistance to Neoliberal Marginalization of Equity & Inclusion Curriculum

In the Fall 2011 the Diversity Collaborative completed a report that included a framework for strategic action and transformative action items that advance equity and inclusion at Southwest Public University (SPU). Early in the formation of the Diversity Collaborative, subcommittees were formed to represent the broader SPU community – staff, community, students, and faculty – to address key areas of concern at SPU as expressed by each constituency (Berry, 2014). One of the critical areas of concern across all constituents was the curriculum. As Freire (1997) reminds us, what evidence do we have that students are “being in the world and with the world” (p. 37). The ultimate question was: What are students walking away with from SPU (whether they graduate or not) in terms of their understanding their place in the world and their relationship to issues of equity and inclusion? This was especially important, as recent campus climate surveys were replete with qualitative student comments that indicated that they felt a great deal of racial tension. In addition, in

many comments there was an apparent lack of understanding across and within groups and marginalization was a theme that resounded across all groups.

As we prioritized our action items a consensus coalesced around the need to institute a diversity requirement for undergraduates. In our review of historical documents, we learned that a previous proposal to institute a diversity requirement at SPU had failed 10 years prior.⁵ Determined to learn from previous attempts, the Diversity Collaborative engaged in power mapping and meeting with key allies and supporters via one-on-one meetings and public forum to plan our course of action.

The Birth of the U.S. & Global Diversity & Inclusion Requirement at SPU

As a collaborative project of women of color faculty, we met over a period of two years to discuss, craft and critically evaluate the student learning outcomes that would serve as the underpinning of the proposed three-credit entitled, the “U.S. & Global Diversity and Inclusion” university wide undergraduate requirement. The main criteria for any class that would count as meeting the requirement was that the primary emphasis of the class was focused on disability, religion, class, race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, language and/or other marginalized category of people and a minimum of two of the following four learning outcomes:

- (1) Demonstrate critical literacy and ethics pertaining to the dynamics of diversity.
- (2) Understand the dynamics of historic and contemporary inequality, oppression and resistance and how those dynamics shape individual and community power and experiences; explore solutions that advance inclusion.

⁵ In a public forum at her new faculty orientation over a decade earlier one of the co-authors asked university administrators if they were considering institution a diversity requirement. The white male administrator insisted that they had just redone the core requirements and they were not going to entertain any other changes. And second, administrator argued that diversity should be in every class. In his view instituting a “separate” requirement would contribute to ghettoization. Again, while women of color may be hired our voices, perspectives and scholarly expertise are rejected, silenced and untenable to power structures vested in maintaining the status quo. Moreover, our expertise is devalued because according to administrators, everyone can do this.

(3) Demonstrate an ability to view issues from multiple perspectives as well as analyze, evaluate, and interpret one's own history and position in contemporary U.S. society as well as in a global context.

(4) Communicate an understanding of the ways in which inequitable treatment of groups is socially constructed and politically implemented and maintained.

To facilitate buy-in from a wide swath of faculty and advance transparency about the process, we announced all our Curriculum Subcommittee meetings and posted them on our Diversity Collaborative website. Although meetings were open to everyone, we again used one of the masters tools, namely “peer review” to institute criteria for appointing members of the Curriculum Subcommittee. All members of the curriculum committee had to be faculty with a track record of scholarship, teaching and service in the area of diversity, equity and inclusion. This is one example of how we invoked the concept of “academic freedom” and “peer review” to “work the cracks” of bureaucratic structures that are often resistance to change.

To encourage opportunities for self-reflexivity among instructors considering submitting syllabi for inclusion in the list of courses, we invited every single department to identify courses that could potentially meet the learning outcomes. To facilitate discussions of equity and inclusion in a broad array of departments, we created a syllabi checklist that required the instructor to specify how their class met the learning outcomes. We quickly learned that many of the very substantive courses that met our learning outcomes were only offered as “special topics” that did not have a unique identifying course number. To expedite institutional change, we explained that we could not approve special topic course codes as meeting the requirement because the subject matter in these courses could change from semester to semester; however, we offered to help any instructors or departments in enhancing existing courses or converting special topics courses into permanent catalog courses that would be approved by faculty governing committees and potentially submitted to the diversity collaborative curriculum committee for designation as meeting the diversity requirement.

We also aimed to establish a very transparent and fair review process for any syllabi that were submitted. We avoided any conflicts of interest in reviewing syllabi from one's own department or of close collaborators from other departments and we also assigned at least two reviewers for syllabi. In order to practice what we preach, we also required instructors to include language about the resources available for students through Accessibility Services before any syllabi was approved (See Appendix B).

Below we outline the most common “fetishes” (distractions) that serve to obscure and distract our efforts to advance the diversity requirement. A common thread in each of these fetishes is that they serve to obscure or ignore structural inequalities, such as the historic and on-going dynamics of settler colonialism. These fetishes also provide a picture of white fragility in action. When discussing issues of curriculum and power it is imperative to underscore that logic may not have anything to do with it. Although some of the quotes that we include may seem amusing, it is important to underscore that each of these quotes were based in actual conversations and correspondence with faculty and administrators at SPU.

The Many Fetishes of “Good Intentions” and the Derailing of Equity & Inclusion Curriculum

At SPU several “common sense” ideological fetishes worked in concert with power and color evasive racial frames. In the end, these ideologies served to undermine the introduction of a “Diversity & Inclusion” three-credit undergraduate requirement. Below we outline the most common “fetishes.”

1: *“Diversity is like sunshine. We live in a diverse state so diversity is everywhere. Why do we need a diversity requirement even though we are in a diverse state? We have international students from all parts of the globe.”* The notion that because we had a diverse student body and that we lived in a majority minority state was perhaps the most “common sense” fetish that was deployed as a tactic to undermine the implementation of diversity and equity curriculum. This fetish is particularly compelling because it appeals to “common sense.” Essentially it departs from the premise that the reality

of living in a diverse state and attending a diverse university means that everyone is a diversity and inclusion expert by osmosis. If we follow this logic we should all be women studies experts that understand the dynamics of patriarchy, sexism and heteronormativity because after all, across most college campuses the majority of students are women, right? Moreover since at SPU about two-thirds of students are qualified for PELL grants (indicating low income), we must not only understand the dynamics of capitalism, but we must also be experts in the vagaries of global markets and the implications for the economic prospects of families, youth and children!

A second version of this fetish involved the selective invocation of international students as contributing to the diversity of the state. Again, some faculty with no scholarship in the area of equity and inclusion, would point to the high number of international students in their programs as the basis for not needing to institute a diversity and inclusion requirement. As one white woman faculty member declared: “My definition of diversity is different from yours. We have international students from all corners of the globe so we don’t need to have specific courses on diversity. When you say that we should be focused on meeting the needs of Hispanic and Native American Students, you don’t mean we should forget about international students to you?”

These statements are ripe with insights about the narrow definitions of who is included in the term “international students.” First, Native Americans students are members of sovereign indigenous First nations. Second, another element that was noticeably absent from this discourse was any acknowledgement of the “internationality” of many undocumented students. Additionally, this color- and power-evasive discourse negates and wallpapers over the fact that many racially stigmatized domestic and international students are segregated from the majority of the student population both physically and ideologically and they are often subjected to xenophobic, sexist, nativist, racist, homophobic and sexist harassment and other indignities on a daily basis. And finally, to what extent are the experiences of Indigenous students who may have lost their native languages due to centuries of

colonization and on-going cultural oppression equivalent to that of “international students” many of whom may be part of elite classes or even privileged racial and ethnic backgrounds in their home countries?

Ideological and material fetishes related to international students speak to the power of what Bonilla-Silva (2003) has referred to as the abstract liberalism racial frame and the work of upholding colorblind racism. A key element of colorblind racism is that it purports to pay homage to the individual decontextualized diversity without looking at issues of structural arrangements, power relations and lived experiences that are anchored in on-going racial stratification and exclusion. It also invalidates the uniqueness of the experience of settler colonialism experienced by Indigenous Peoples in the U.S. (Martínez, 2010; Nakano-Glenn, 2015). To be sure, while SPU’s administration points to budget crisis to justify why it cannot adequately support equity and inclusion initiatives, it allocated substantial resources to effort to attract international students.

Another example of SPU’s adherence to neoliberal imperatives can be seen in recent efforts to develop a new “brand” for the university. To attract more student to the university, administrators allocated precious resources to an expensive public relations firm, that met with select university stakeholders to discern the brand that would package SPU’s strategic value added to potential students [read: customers]. University administrators settled on a slogan that again echoed abstract liberal understandings of the university: “Individuals Together.” The belief that we live in a meritocracy where individuals regardless of racial, ethnic or other background are essentially equivalent in experience, was celebrated in this brand which aimed to attract potential students.

Fetish # 2: *“We need to protect students from “extra” requirements (particularly our STEM majors). You don’t want to delay the graduation of students, do you?”* The need to “protect” students, and particularly those students who were identified as producing “valued” credentials, such as science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) from extra requirements was a major concern that was articulated at almost every

presentation we made to university administrators during the approval process. The logic was that the imposition of a diversity requirement could potentially hamper the progress toward degree completion. Simultaneously, when the requirement was instituted the University underwent a reduction in the number of credits required for graduation from 128 to 120. This development caused major consternation among administrators, faculty and particularly students who were pursuing Science, Technology, Engineering and Math-related (STEM) degrees. The reality was that many of their programs were extremely structured. We found only one course in the STEM fields that addressed some of the learning outcomes related to the requirement. It was telling that this course was only taught as special topics through a grant that was no longer in place. Ironically the accreditation guidelines for some of the STEM programs recognized the need for these students to engage in learning outcomes that were based on working with diverse populations. Again, via the dynamics of interest convergence vis-à-vis neoliberal logics, STEM faculty administrators that initially expressed skepticism and opposition to the extra requirement, eventually embraced the idea of the diversity requirement because it would resonate with a competitive advantage for their students in their increasingly global workforce.

Fetish # 3: *“Just speaking a world language makes you aware of cultural difference so just taking world language is the same as meeting the diversity requirement.”* The “U.S. & Global Diversity & Inclusion” three-credit undergraduate requirement passed the Faculty Senate and it was on the books during in Fall 2015. However, as previously mentioned it did contain a sentence that members of the Diversity Collaborative agreed to incorporate about including world languages as “counting” for meeting the learning outcomes. The problem with this is that it effectively nullified the diversity requirement, as every student at the university must complete at least three credits of world language. Another problem stemmed from the misunderstanding that just because all world languages could potentially include readings and other learning activities that decontextualized language acquisition, first and second year language

courses, which represents the types of courses the vast majority of language course students take in order to graduate, typically do not focus on diversity, equity, inclusion or social justice. We eventually were able to remove the language that allowed for all world languages to automatically count, but that only occurred a year later for the Fall of 2016. Again, we used the master's tools, namely the approved learning outcomes to remove any courses that did not primarily focus on issues of power, privilege, oppression and social justice.

Fetish #4: *"You have a narrow definition of diversity. You need to include diversity of thought and ideas. You are privileging race, gender, disability, and sexual orientation over other forms of diversity. Words like oppression and discrimination are disciplinary jargon. In our field, we talk about cultural difference."* The analytical equivalence given to diversity of ideas and thought to diversity and inclusion of groups that have survived colonization, state terror and on-going inequalities in health, employment, housing and education is perhaps one of the most troubling trends in higher education, as some offices of equity and inclusion are being renamed as offices for diversity of thought. These comments also are part and parcel of a normalized narrative that evades any discussion of power, color, and difference and aspires to sugar coat the reality of on-going inequalities and inequitable treatment of groups by race, ethnicity, disability, religion, sexual orientation, and/or gender inequality and how these dynamics are socially constructed and politically implemented and maintained. Comments like these again obscure the fact that diversity of ideas does not constitute a category of people who have experienced systematic exclusion from voting, housing, employment, health care, and disparate treatment in the criminal justice system. In addition, this fetish is perhaps a powerful example of what DiAngelo (2011:57) refers to as white fragility. White fragility is on full display when white faculty and administrators meet any discussions that disrupt entitlement to white comfort in the status quo with outward "displays of anger, fear, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence and leaving the stress-inducing situation."

Fetish #5: *“Diversity should be in every class so we don’t need a separate requirement.”*

This is perhaps the most interesting idea and potentially transformative idea if it is substantive. This would mean that all courses would be primarily focused on the four learning outcomes related to diversity and inclusion; however the devil is in the details. Just how much of the learning outcomes in each class would be dedicated to these learning outcomes? Would it be two out of sixteen weeks or would it be the primary focus 10 out of the 16 weeks in the regular semester? Would this mean that every course in the university would now dedicate their primary learning outcomes and course readings, activities and examinations to the learning outcomes identified in the syllabus checklist? Another question would be related to the university’s commitment to professional development and training for faculty who have no scholarship, publications, research, teaching or service related to the learning outcomes identified in the checklist. Would this mean that every single department would commit to on-going professional development for all faculty to learn about diversity, equity and inclusion curriculum and pedagogy in order to incorporate this expertise in their classes? Would there be course releases and trainings for continuing and incoming faculty? Would tenure and promotion guidelines and annual review include equity and inclusion scholarship, teaching and service as criteria for evaluation? Would high-level administrators be evaluated and held accountable for their contributions to equity and inclusion as part of their reappointments?

In addition to the ideological fetishes (distractions) described above, we observed the presence of at least two material fetishes that Fine (1991) describes as “entrenched behaviors and resource allocations” that are “self-generating and self-reproducing” (p. 184) in public arenas of education and in our case in higher education.

Material Fetish #1: *“Exclusion Masquerading as Excellence: High Stake Use of GPA and Standardized Tests for Determining Access to Universal Funding for Higher Education”*

In response to neoliberal imperatives that mandate measurable results, workforce relevance, and “excellence,” SPU decided to propose a change in the way

that the universal tuition scholarship aid that was awarded to incoming students would operate in the future. Proponents of the proposed change in funding called for “greater emphasis on academic merit” by raising the grade point average (GPA) and standardized test requirements. Opponents of the proposed changes argued that randomly raising the GPA requirement would have a deleterious negative effects on first generation college and other working-class students, as well as students of color from every income bracket would be disproportionately negatively affected.

When we asked faculty administrators whether they had conducted an equity analysis in terms of who would be most affected by the proposed changes, administrators again embraced paternalistic neoliberal language that exemplified the fetish of “good intentions”: “You wouldn’t want students who you know are least likely to graduate to come here incur debt and fail would you?” They explained that this policy decision was based on the analysis of student data that pointed to evidence that those students with GPAs and standardized test scores below the proposed cutoff for the scholarship aid were not predicted to graduate in a timely fashion. When pressed on the fact that most of these students were racial and ethnic minorities, first-generation college and other underrepresented groups, administrators responded by saying that these students would be better served by taking developmental courses in community colleges.

In response to the proposed changes that would have severely limited the number of students from marginalized communities who would “qualify” for the universal tuition scholarship program, community advocates, including veterans, single mothers, alumni and other community leaders and stakeholders convened a public forum with high-level administrators and they also invited the local press. Charging administrators with institutional racism and segregation, in a packed room diverse community leaders came up to the microphone and faced the faculty administrators to air their grievances. They chided elitist definitions of “merit” and provided their own data analysis anchored in critical race quantitative methods that showed the negative impact of the proposed changes to racial and ethnic minority

communities. Students also protested the formula that would penalize students who attended part-time by charging them more for tuition than students who attended full-time as again this proposal would disproportionately affect underrepresented minorities.

One dramatic moment during the public forum, highlighted the marginalization of women of color faculty even when they occupy high-level administrative positions: “Why is it that the sole high-level administrator woman of color only found out about the proposed changes because it was posted on my Facebook?” This inconvenient fact underscored the status quo tokenistic way in which women of color faculty who question the status quo are still excluded from important decision-making that will impact marginalized communities. Although the proposal to raise the GPA and standardized test requirements for accessing the tuition scholarship was eventually jettisoned after the mini-social movement, the proposal to charge more to part-time students vs. full time students did get implemented. Subsequently students and community leaders continued to keep the dialogue going by organizing panels of activist scholars—both faculty and students—entitled, “Exclusion Masquerading as Excellence.” In these public forums, panelists deconstructed the idea that we live in a “meritocracy” and provided counter-story telling that called for the need to diversify the administrative and faculty ranks as well as transform the curriculum.⁶

Material Fetish #2: *“We have a budget crisis. We Just Don’t Have Funding for Equity and Inclusion: A.K.A. The Hyper Exploitation of Critical Women of Color Faculty as las Criadas (the servants)”*

In his compelling analysis of the state of diversity initiatives in higher education, Williams (2013) coins the term “counterfeit diversity” to describe a situation whereby many institutions of higher education make public claims about

⁶ Women of color faculty explained to high-level faculty administrators that if these criteria had been in place, they would not have been able to qualify for the scholarship. See also Omi and Winant’s (1994) critique of “merit” as a political construct by organized privileged groups and denying the claims of disadvantaged groups.

valuing diversity and include many pictures showcasing their diversity in their promotional materials, but when we look deeper and interrogate the actual allocation of resources for supporting diversity and inclusion work, there is little beyond simple window dressing. While the Diversity Collaborative did succeed in getting the administration to include a preferred criteria on every faculty job position that calls for “a demonstrated commitment to equity, inclusion and student success as well as working with broadly diverse students and community,” they bristled at the idea of having a proactive way of making sure that this preferred criteria was placed into action by including an equity advisor that would hold every search accountable for enforcement of this criteria. Diversity Collaborative members argued for the transformative role that an equity advisor could play from the inception of a job search to ensure that the constitution of the committee, job ad and advertising was as equitable as possible. The equity advisor would also spearhead training for all search committee members on implicit bias, nepotism, conflicts of interest and other everyday practices that maintain the status quo in job searches. Diversity Collaborative members also argued for the inclusion of a measurable metric on equity and inclusion for all annual reviews, tenure and promotion criteria or requirement for high-level appointments, but these suggestions fell on deaf ears.

The structural location of women faculty of color who are also critical scholar activists throughout institutions of higher education and across the nation has meant that from the moment we walk on campus we are subjected to an inequitable teaching, mentoring, research and service workload that is not experienced by other faculty. As “las criadas” (“criadas” is the Spanish word for domestic servants) we are expected to stay in our place, not complain when we have to go above and beyond the normal workload of many of our white male and female colleagues and above all stay in our place and refrain from voice opposition to injustice. We are expected to serve on numerous university-wide committees, taskforces, as well as special projects—all beyond normal mentoring and teaching loads.⁷

⁷ See López (2003) description of the colored glass ceiling experienced by women of color at work.

Because as critical scholar activists we share a moral commitment to institutional transformation, even in the absence of resources, we are committed to institutional transformations. In working toward the institutionalization of the diversity requirement, we collectively spend countless nights, gathering information on classes, requesting and reviewing syllabi, organizing forum, convening, coordinating and attending meetings, etc. When we request institutional support, whether in the form of course releases, staff support or equitable compensation for our labor, the uniform response is that there is no funding from the neoliberal corporate public university. Indeed, at each administrative decision-making juncture, we explain the level of effort, time and coordination involved in attending numerous formal committee meetings, organizing the internal curriculum committee meetings and meeting all the deadlines and bureaucratic hurdles. We point out that in most departments, undergraduate committee chairs, Associate Chairs, Graduate Chairs, Assessment Coordinators routinely receive a combination of course releases and/or extra compensation for their efforts, but the administration continually insisted that they were facing budget cuts and they did not have any resources to support the work of the Diversity Collaborative curriculum committee. One of the other women of color faculty members of the Diversity Collaborative puts it bluntly, “They sure get their money’s worth from their faculty of color. All the unpaid labor that we engage in is “invisible” and undervalued racial equity work.” Because the administration did value racial and equity work, the triple and quadruple shifts that faculty of color and women of color in particular carry out to advance equity and inclusion in job searches is again rendered as “invisible” and devalued work.

We must still engage in strategic transformations because in the words of one veteran woman of color who has been at SPU for decades: “If we wait for them to give us the funding, we will never get anything done.” As a labor of love and a moral imperative, a core group of women faculty of color, toiled in our triple shifts in the modern-day neoliberal university plantation to advance equity and inclusion work as

the new normal. This is the new condition for many women of color faculty hoping to engage in transformation equity work at public universities invested in neoliberal imperatives. Unless there are explicit resources and metrics allocated to support this type of work, our invisible labor is not only rejected but it is not valued at many of our universities. Indeed, it is often actively discouraged by institutional imperatives that view this work as insurgent and dictate that our service commitments should only reside at the department level.⁸ Nevertheless, we continue to engage in this type of work because we believe that it matters. And now we return to the topic of the counter narratives (*trucos*) we crafted in response to the many distractions we encountered in our work.

Hay Que Saberle El Truco (You have to know how to Resist Even in the Face of Opposition): Crafting Counter narratives in the Neoliberal Public University

Here we provide counter stories to the roadblocks we encountered. “Tenemos que saberle el truco/You have to know how to resist” was our motto. We rearticulated the racist racial projects we encountered in the form of redefining and leveraging the neoliberal definitions, interpretations, representations of racial dynamics and the attempts to reallocate resources along racial lines.

Counter narrative #1: *“Although we live in a diverse state, we may not fully understand the dynamics of oppression, discrimination and inclusion. For example, more than half of the people in this planet are women. This does not mean that we automatically understand historic and on-going sexism, patriarchy or the oppression of women. Moreover, even international students can benefit from understanding the dynamics of U.S. and global social inequalities and resistance.”* This counter narrative functions to again assert that the purpose of the requirement is to address inequality, power and social justice as the key student learning outcomes. This was a fundamentally different conceptualization of diversity from the notion that simply because our students come from diverse backgrounds, they are automatically

⁸ For metrics on explicitly valuing equity and inclusion work in higher education, please visit: <http://advance.oregonstate.edu/metrics-evaluating-support-equity-inclusion-and-justice>, last accessed June 29, 2016.

engaging in key discussions, research and scholarship that are focused on enduring insights on inequality and social justice.

Counter narrative #2: *“We have plenty of existing courses in the core curriculum. We just added racial and ethnic studies and other social justice focused courses to the humanities and social sciences core so even students in structured programs can still complete this requirement without having to take an “extra” course. In the spirit of interdisciplinary we are hoping to invite the STEM fields as well as in every department, college in the university to partner and co-teach courses with faculty that do specialize in equity and inclusion.”* This was perhaps the most important factor in instituting the diversity requirement. Because we knew that there was not going to be a university initiative to hire faculty that were experts in equity and inclusion, we instead focused our energies in leveraging the expertise that already existed in our university across a variety of departments, programs and colleges. We compiled a list of over 200 courses that could meet the learning outcomes for the diversity requirement, including over a dozen courses that were part of the core curriculum. We also obtained information about course capacity and demand for these courses for first-year incoming students and determined that we had enough seats for first year students to complete the requirement during the first year of study if they so desired. All of this preparation was part and parcel of proactive attempts to address concerns that the diversity requirement would potentially delay the timely graduation of students.

Counter narrative #3: *“Learning how to say “yo quiero café/I want coffee” does not mean that you understand the history and culture of a group of people who have experienced historic and contemporary inequitable treatment. Do you think neo-Nazis and others that speak more than one language automatically understand issues related to power, privilege, inequality and social justice as well as issues of equity and inclusion?”* When we would raise these questions, we had a series of responses including silence, laughter and indifference. It was telling that some faculty administrators that were most vocal about the need to count world languages in the diversity requirement felt that they were fully conversant in issues of diversity, equity and inclusion, even after we explained that world language

acquisition was not equivalent to learning outcomes centered on equity and inclusion. Again, this is yet another example of what DiAngelo (2011) had termed “racial arrogance” whereby “whites have no compunction about debating the knowledge of people who have thought complexly about race” (p. 61) or other areas of power, difference and social justice. We were also prepared to use another one of the masters tools, namely “academic freedom” as none of the faculty administrators who were firm in arguing that world languages should automatically count had a scholarly publication or teaching record that spoke to the learning outcomes related to equity and inclusion.

Counter narrative #4: *“Tell us more about what equity and diversity means to you. You mentioned that your colleagues feel that concepts like oppression and discrimination are disciplinary jargon. How would you describe the situation of homeless individuals and families just a few blocks from our university? What about the situation of an immigrant mother on the bus going to her second job? What are you afraid will happen if we have diversity and inclusion requirement that focuses on solutions to social inequalities for entire categories of people? Diversity and inclusion is not about personalities, ideas or costless choices such as who dyes their hair purple. Diversity and inclusion is about solutions to the systemic and institutionalized inequalities and exclusion experienced by entire categories of people over a long period of time. When you say that we have a narrow definition of diversity and inclusion because we are perplexed. Courses that focus on disability, languages or international students were never excluded as long as the approved student learning outcomes were the primary focus of the class.”*

In our conversations with one of the white faculty administrators who believed that our Diversity requirement learning outcomes were too narrow and that they made her colleagues uncomfortable, we pointed out to her that part of learning about equity and inclusion is uncomfortable, painful but potentially transformative. We invited faculty to come to our curriculum committee meetings and the syllabi workshops we would be hosting for all faculty interested in learning more about the requirement. We also pointed to the fact that we were interested in deeply contextualizing the lived experiences of entire categories of people who suffer

discrimination, inequities and intergenerational trauma as a way of advancing solutions to the entrenched and immoral preventable inequities that continue in the state, in the country and across the globe. With tears in their eyes, the faculty member that was at first viscerally opposed to the inclusion of learning outcomes pertaining to discrimination and oppression eventually endorsed the passage of the requirement in faculty governance—but not without the insistence that we explicitly include a broader definition of diversity that specifically referenced international students and students with disabilities, which we again found perplexing because these communities were never excluded from the diversity requirement.

Counter narrative #5: *“We agree that all courses should include diversity and inclusion. Do you mean every course will be primarily focused on the four diversity and inclusion student-learning outcomes listed in our syllabi checklist? English and math should be covered in every class; should we eliminate these requirements as well?”* This was perhaps the most important counter narrative we crafted. We succeeded in keeping the integrity of the requirement because we said that while the aspiration that all courses are primarily focused on the lives of marginalized groups and potential transformative solutions to entrenched long-term inequities, it would have been disingenuous for the administration to say that every course would be primarily focused on the approved diversity learning outcomes. Again, if necessary we would have filed a grievance with the Academic Freedom and Tenure committee and invoked the concept of peer review to determine which courses meet the criteria of primary focus on diversity learning outcomes. We also underscored that we were more than happy to organize workshops for faculty seeking to reach this goal, particularly in the core curriculum, but the reality was that we were not there yet.

Lessons From Playing with Fire:

Using the Master’s Tools to Dismantle the Master’s House?

“For the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” (Lorde, 1984, p.112)

Audre Lorde’s 1984 groundbreaking essay “The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House” serves as the basis and framework from which we

approach the academic and racial arrogance assumed by faculty and administrators in institutions of higher education of a complete negation of the importance and necessity of a diverse curriculum that embraces and validates marginalized voices and brings them to the center. The issue of “whose knowledge counts?” (Woodson 1933) is still ever present in higher education (Morris 2015; Du Bois 1903). Excluding diverse voices and histories is to assume that diversity is not important and that our diverse voices must be silenced and our histories need to remain hidden or invisible since our experiences have nothing to contribute to the curriculum. The absence of critical consciousness regarding the need and importance of a diversity and inclusion requirement leaves a serious gap within the university undergraduate curriculum.

Although the ‘master’ may have meant for scientific words to be used one way, reclaiming scientific tools and recasting them for different purposes can benefit both science and subordinate groups (Patricia Hill Collins as quoted in Zuberi, 2001:106)

As scholar activists, we made use of the master’s tools such as university mission statements and strategic plans that proclaim to serve all communities in the state to advance equity and inclusion in the core undergraduate curriculum and beyond. Below is a list of some of the movidas/moves we employed:

1. Diversity and Inclusion Campus Survey – Proactive Dealing with Incidents
2. Decolonizing, Coloring and Queering the Core Curriculum
3. Language Counts Compromise? Student Learning Outcomes – Keeping it Real
4. Accreditation, Outcomes Assessment, Academic Freedom/Peer Review
5. Preparing for the Workforce/Social Harmony – Real Life Impact of Diversity & Inclusion; teaching for the workforce of tomorrow
6. Globalization and Workforce competitiveness
7. Strategic Semantic move – “U.S. & Global” as attractive to the neoliberal logic; “Inclusion” Keeps it real

8. Diversity Collaborative wrote a memo to the administration and now all faculty hires must include a preferred criteria that states “demonstrated commitment to equity and inclusion and student success and working with broadly diverse communities.”

We used the Spanish term, “truco” to describe the continuous obstacles or tricks that emerged to create barriers to the creation of a meaningful diversity requirement. “Truco” is a Spanish word that has dual meaning. It can mean tricks or it can mean understanding what is behind something and how to navigate and maneuver to do what is necessary to get the job done (A common saying is: Tienes que saberle el truco. You have to find a way even in the face of opposition). Both meanings seemed to be in play as we went through the process of approval and obstacles emerged. Some of the “trucos” were evident in the procedural safeguards that required approval by bodies made up of individuals that had no research, scholarship, teaching or service expertise or leadership in equity and inclusion and did not believe diversity was important. It was evident that many colleagues in structural positions of power were extremely uncomfortable with elements of the presentation. For example, some dismissed the learning outcomes, which included specific words such as discrimination and oppression as disciplinary jargon. It was argued that terms like “culture” and “diversity of ideas” were more appropriate for a diversity requirement (See Appendix C: Syllabi Checklist).

We utilized *movidas* as strategic moves or ways of maneuvering through and within the institutional barriers. Our *movidas* served to destabilize the use of the heteronormative patriarchal master’s tools, which historically have been used to examine “the fruits of that same patriarchy” (Lorde, 1984, p. 110-11). In response to this belief, we sought to transform traditional models of core curriculum requirements by bridging and intervening against the exclusions imposed by academic disciplines and critical approaches to create alternative histories and new forms of knowledge that foreground diversity, equity, inclusion and social justice (Sedillo-López, 2005). By diversifying the undergraduate core curriculum, faculty and students

can begin to understand the historical process and its' political ramifications on the lives and bodies of marginalized, underrepresented communities.

We began to *play with fire* by following the University's interest in U.S. and global dynamics in the curriculum by including these terms in the title but keeping it real by including the word inclusion.⁹ We also invoked notions that are echoed in neoliberal discourses that frame education as preparing students to compete in the "global work force." We maneuvered through procedural trucos by filling out forms that proposed the three-credit hour diversity requirement and every stop of the way being attentive to the disciplinary domain of power or the rules of the game. We also invoked the notion of academic freedom, peer review and student learning outcomes by setting up a subcommittee of the Diversity Collaborative comprised of faculty across colleges and departments with a clear record of scholarship, teaching and research expertise in the area of diversity and inclusion. We created a visual that spoke to the neoliberal language of competing with our peers. One slide we showed at all of our presentations to administrators was a map of the United States that identified all of our peer institutions with diversity requirements and a caption that said, SPU is the only university on the list of peers that did not have a diversity requirement. This was a powerful image that again leveraged the notion of "interest convergence" or the idea that progress will only be made when racial justice aims coincide with those of dominant racial groups. In this case, competing with peer institutions was the interest that coincided with the need to offer similar or better products to potential student clients.¹⁰ After this image, letters of support from high-

⁹ While we were working on developing the framing of the diversity requirement, we approached Dr. Peggy McIntosh (1998) after she gave a keynote at a White Privilege conference. We explained that we were experiencing a lot of pushback and hostility to the "Diversity and Inclusion" requirement because included learning outcomes that pertained to discrimination, oppression and social justice. Dr. McIntosh paused in deep thought and then before we had the time to blink said: "U.S. & Global" and it will appeal to the faculty and administrators. Realizing that interest convergence and neoliberal logics were always at play, we eventually settled on the name of our requirement but we keep the learning outcomes real by making sure that they centered issues of inclusion and exclusion.

¹⁰ Interest convergence was also at play when the unfunded SPU collective of race and social justice interdisciplinary scholars instituted the "Race and Social Justice" interdisciplinary 15-credit

level administrators were appended to the proposal that was reviewed by the faculty governance committees.

We held forum, met with countless groups, sent mass emails to the entire faculty list serves and regularly announced and posted our meetings for anyone to attend. We met with student groups, acquired letters of support from the Southwest Public University (SPU) President and Provost and secured endorsements from the Deans Council and other strategic governing bodies on campus. This again demonstrated that we had done due diligence in engaging all stakeholders.

After incorporating suggestions and feedback, the proposal went through the established curricular university committees. Since we knew that our proposal was extremely controversial and because most faculty and administrators believe they are already experts in diversity and inclusion although they do not have a scholarly or teaching record in this field, we went in search of allies and accomplices from SPU's faculty, students, staff and the community-at-large for support. We gathered support from key stakeholders by holding student, faculty, and community town hall meetings, separately met with undergraduate and graduate student organizations and university advisement staff were physically present with our accomplices at all committee meetings to answer questions and provide extensive rationale for the importance of a three-credit diversity requirement. In partnership with faculty (Education, Sociology, Ethnic Studies programs, Women Studies, STEM programs) and with full support of the Division for Equity and Inclusion, the chairs of the Undergraduate and Curricular Committees of Faculty Governing structures voted in favor of adopting the three-credit diversity requirement.

Truco #1: *“Academic freedom includes peer review by people who have expertise in a given area. All of our meetings are public and everyone is welcome to attend and participate. All of the members of the Diversity Collaborative Curriculum Subcommittee are voting members of the faculty*

transcribed graduate certificate. Because presentations in framed the certificate as the first in the country, it appealed to SPU administrators who wanted to have a competitive advantage over peers that only had race certificates or social justice certificates. To be sure when the certificate was approved there was a story published in the SPU website.

and they each have PhDs as well as lengthy research, publications, teaching and community engaged scholar activists service records in the areas of diversity, equity and inclusion. Do you mean faculty that have no scholarship in this area are able to determine what counts as diversity? Peer review requires that faculty with expertise in diversity and inclusion curriculum review syllabi in this subject matter.”

Unlike some of our peer-institutions, our faculty governance over curriculum fails to take serious the peer-review element of academic freedom. Unlike for tenure and review, where it is assumed that the scholarship of a given faculty member be assessed for its contributions by peers in a given field of expertise, SPU has no such arrangement for changes to curriculum. For example, the logic for organizing the curricular review process is based on type of student (undergraduate vs. graduate) and the appointed members on these aforementioned committees are not discipline specific. This means that more often than not members of the curricular committee do not have any background in the curricular forms that they are being asked to assess. This structural problem occurs in Institutional Review Boards (IRB), but at least there have been band aid attempts to rectify this problem by inviting comment from experts when no one on the IRB committee can fully speak to the scholarship being undertaken in a given proposed study. For these reasons, we clarified that while we welcome anyone to attend the curriculum committee meetings where decisions were being made about which courses met the student learning outcomes, only faculty with a track record of scholarship and teaching in the areas of equity and inclusion could be voting members of the committee.

Truco #2: “Assessment is extremely important for insuring the integrity of the student learning outcomes. We invite all instructors to include questions for student feedback on whether the learning outcomes were addressed as the primary focus of the class.”

We are in the process of using one of the master’s tools, assessments, to leverage our ability to ensure the integrity of the courses identified as meeting the learning outcomes. The spirit of our invocation of assessments was not punitive, but rather proactive in providing support for faculty that may need resources for building

their course work. We also provided workshops for all faculty interested in having their courses meet the student learning outcomes. Our eventual plans include increasing the requirement to more than one class as well as following students to see if those who are taking diversity and equity classes that are identified as having lower GPAs are actually achieving higher student success when exposed to diversity and equity and other empowering curriculum.

As activist scholars, we cannot rest as we have to continuously have to think ahead to anticipate what procedural trucos administrators and faculty will pull out of their hat to create barriers for advancing diversity, equity, inclusion and social justice within the institution. The latest version is a top down faculty administrative attempt to redo the entire higher education curriculum in the state in a way that would again nullify diversity and inclusion courses in the core curriculum. In response students, faculty and community member have held forum that underscore that the broad core curriculum guidelines being proposed must be done in consultation with faculty and in a way that preserves the integrity of the diversity and inclusion requirement and departments and programs that are centered on issues of power, privilege, disadvantage and social justice.

In a perfect world, Faculty of Color would not have to expend our energies on educating faculty and administrators about the importance of diversity. Just as Lorde (1984) points out, “This is an old and primary tool of all oppressors to keep the oppressed occupied with the master’s concerns” (p. 113). Instead the courses that meet the diversity requirement allow students to explore recurring themes such as immigration, racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, displacement, violence, activism, education, and solidarity that allow for a common understanding on the part of the marginalized communities to envision their role in shaping U.S. society and beyond.

Hurtado (1996) and others have researched the value of diversity content in the curriculum and the advantage it provides students in learning outcomes that will make them better equipped to work in an increasingly diverse society. They state that

the advantage to students cannot be left up to chance. As activist scholars, we also contend that the most important gains that students can make are to have a critical understanding of inequities that exist, how power and privilege work, and how marginalization impacts everyone. A diversity requirement that addresses oppression and marginalization in a substantial way to transform these historic and contemporary inequalities will prepare students to become teachers, community and regional planners, lawyers, business owners, engineers, nurses, doctors, cultural workers or artists with a strong critical consciousness. As institutions of higher education, we have the responsibility to educate an informed global citizenry.

Conclusion

“Pebbles in the Pond” A Poem by Antoinette Sedillo Lopez (2004)

One pebble
ripples
out to shore
Two pebbles
Ripple
merge together
Three pebbles
begin
to make a wave
Many pebbles
Change the water
Churning and moving
Change the shape of the pond
Be a pebble in the water
change the water
Don't let the water change you

We end our story with the poem entitled, “Pebbles in the Pond” from our colleague and friend critical race feminist legal scholar activist, Professor Antoinette Sedillo Lopez. As women of color activist scholars committed to equity and inclusion, we are often asked about whether we believe there has been progress in the advancement of social justice. We always answer in the affirmative as we realize that we stand on the shoulders of many other scholar activists (credentialed or not) that

worked tirelessly to open the very doors we continue to pry open for generations that will follow (Du Bois, 1903).

Collins (2009) explains that social justice transformations are long-term endeavors. In this article we utilized a common saying in Spanish “Hay que saberle el truco.” You have to know how to navigate even in the face of resistance to detail how we used counter narratives and organized networks of resistance to strategically resist the allure of what Fine calls the fetish of “Good Intentions” as part of the orchestra of processes and ideologies that maintain the racial, gender, class and other oppressive arrangements that buttress the status quo. The question that we must all examine is what small part can we be a part of in this long-term process to create a more perfect union for all.¹¹ We hope that we have provided a snapshot of ways in which you can all advance this in your own local, national and global contexts.

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Appendix A: Implications and Recommendations

Below we include potential implications and recommendations for those wishing to advance equity, diversity, inclusion and social justice at their institution.

1. Every posted faculty position should include preferred criteria that include “a demonstrated commitment to equity, inclusion, diversity and student success and working with broadly diverse communities.”
2. Empower an equity advisor on every faculty, staff and high-level administrative search with the power to enforce fair practices in hiring and holding the university accountable when necessary.
3. Strategic and Intentional Leadership Development and Valuing of Equity Work; Accountability for Equity and Inclusion in every aspect of tenure and promotion and annual review within institutions of higher education from top-level administration to office workers, in teaching, research and service (For a model with metrics visit OSU Advance Grant at: <http://advance.oregonstate.edu/metrics-evaluating-support-equity-inclusion-and-justice>).
4. Each university faculty governance structure including executive leadership committees should have a standing committee on equity and inclusion.
5. Each college should have a committee or council dedicated to diversity so that when curricular issues arise that call for a change in graduation requirements, for example, satellite Diversity Collaboratives comprised of faculty with expertise and advocacy. Departments should have standing committees on equity and inclusion and be held accountable for making advancements in this area in terms of graduate admissions, curriculum and programming. For example, the State Bar of New Mexico requires knowledge of Native American law.
6. Peer Review Means Peer Review. Just as peer review of engineering and math curriculum should be done by faculty with a track record of publications,

teaching and service in the area, diversity and inclusion curriculum should receive the same level of peer review.

7. Each university must provide on-going professional development for applied equity and inclusion pedagogy.
8. Institutionalize assessments to value key elements of diversity and power (e.g., annual reviews; academic program reviews; tenure and promotion; classroom assessment).
9. Universities, colleges, programs and departments should identify a plan for examining the long-term impact of equity and inclusion curriculum (e.g., impact on alumni career and life aspirations).
10. Each university should employ a tool for mapping diversity, equity, and inclusion in undergraduate and graduate education.
11. Each department should be required to provide an annual review on diversity, equity, and inclusion. This should be an explicit criterion for equity and inclusion in all academic program reviews that happen every 5-7 years.
12. Each university needs to ensure that membership on all academic review committees have a critical mass of faculty with demonstrated expertise in diversity, equity, and inclusion.
13. Community engagement centers and ethnic studies departments on campus must be engaged in all major university or statewide curricular decisions.
14. Universities should reward and encourage interdisciplinary co-teaching for courses.
15. Pre-tenured faculty should have course release to participate in professional development to enhance their understanding of diversity, equity and inclusion or workshops on diversity, equity and inclusion.
16. Universities should identify ways to engage in public pedagogy with students, staff, faculty, and community so that there is greater ownership and understanding of why there is a need for the three-credit requirement. This

can be done by growing their own next generation of faculty through internship programming for middle and high school students.

17. All of these endeavors should be anchored in intersectional knowledge projects or the acknowledgment of the complex ways in which race, gender, class, disability, sexuality and other axes of difference and power overlap and produce very different lived experiences for entire categories of people.

Appendix B: Resources for Intersectional Praxis

Here we include a partial list of Intersectionality focused—Race<->Gender<->Class-
-Institutes, Centers, Consortium and Journals

Columbia University
Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies, established 2011
Professor Kimberlè Crenshaw, Executive Director and Founder
<http://www.law.columbia.edu/centers/intersectionality/about-the-center>

University of Maryland
Consortium on Race, Gender and Ethnicity (CRGE), established 2001
Dr. Ruth Zambrana, Director
<http://crge.umd.edu>

Matrix Center for the Advancement of Social Equity and Inclusion
University of Colorado, Colorado Springs
Dr. Abby Ferber, established 2005
<http://www.uccs.edu/~matrix/>

University of New Mexico
New Mexico Race, Gender Class Data Policy Consortium, established 2014
Institute for the Study of “Race” & Social Justice, established 2009
Dr. Nancy López, Director & Co-Founder
<http://race.unm.edu>

University of New Orleans
Race, Gender and Class Journal, established 1996
Dr. Jean Ait Belkhir, Director and Founder
<http://rgc.uno.edu/journal/>

University of Southern California
Research Institute for the Study of Intersectionality and Social
Transformation, established 2016
Dr. Ange Marie Hancock, Executive Director and Founder
<http://www.ange-mariehancock.com>

Simon Fraser University
Institute for Intersectionality Research and Policy, established 2005
Dr. Olena Hankivsky, Director
<http://www.sfu.ca/iirp/>

Wake Forest University
Anna Julia Cooper Center

[Advancing Justice Through Intersectional Scholarship](#)

Dr. Melissa Harris Perry, Director

<http://ajccenter.wfu.edu>

Appendix C: Diversity & Inclusion Syllabi and Checklist

Here we include the checklist we developed to ensure that the diversity and inclusion requirement actually addressed issues of power, difference, inequality and social justice.

Date Submitted: _____ **Submitted by:** _____

Criteria Checklist for “U.S. & Global Diversity & Inclusion” Undergraduate Requirement

RATIONALE & OBJECTIVES

The stated aim of the "U.S. & Global Diversity & Inclusion" undergraduate degree requirement is to promote a broad-scale understanding of the culture, history or current circumstance of diverse groups of people who have experienced historic and/or contemporary inequitable treatment in the U.S. or in a global context.

The Diversity Collaborative posits that *inclusive excellence* requires a healthy and inclusive campus climate and refers to the processes by which the University leverages diversity as its’ strength to enhance an understanding and connection with diverse communities, ensure the success of all SPU students, and advance the academic enterprise.

Courses that address at least two of the following four diversity outcomes will be listed as meeting the U.S. Global, Diversity and Equity requirements. The Diversity Collaborative Curriculum Subcommittee is collecting the syllabi for potentially diversity inclusive courses that were identified and approved by the Faculty Senate. Please complete the checklist to identify which of the four diversity outcomes are being addressed in your course. Please include the student-learning outcome from your syllabus that meets the diversity and inclusion learning outcome. It should take approximately three minutes to complete the checklist. Courses that addresses two or more of the diversity outcomes will be included on the final list of approved courses. (Note: If class is cross-listed or offered with another course, ALSO list course prefix, number, and title.)

Please fill out this form and email to: usglobaldiversity@spu.edu and attach course syllabus. The courses submitted to meet the requirement should meet two (2) of the four (4) learning outcomes, should include the ADA Statement on the syllabus and

provide content to address the learning outcomes in at least half of the class.

For a list of the 2016-2017 Approved Diversity Requirement courses please visit:

<http://corerequirements.spu.edu> or diverse.spu.edu.

Course Prefix	Number	Title	Instructor Name & Title	Email
My course includes primary emphasis (half or more of the course content) on one or more combinations of the following areas (mark an X for all that apply): ___ gender; ___ race; ___ class; ___ ethnicity; ___ sexual orientation; ___ disability; ___ religion; and/or ___ other marginalized group(s)- specify group: _____				
YES	NO	LEARNING OUTCOMES (engages two or more of the key learning outcomes for half or more of the course content)		Paste relevant student learning outcome from syllabus (please reference specific activities or assignments from your syllabus).
	1.	Demonstrate an ability to view issues from multiple perspectives as well as analyze, evaluate, and interpret one’s own history and position in contemporary U.S. society as well as in a global context.		
	2.	Understand the dynamics of historic and contemporary inequality, oppression, and resistance for marginalized groups in local and global societies and how those dynamics shape individual and community power and experiences (e.g., sexism, institutional racism, homophobia, etc.).		
	3.	Demonstrate critical literacy and ethics pertaining to the dynamics of diversity and inclusion by race, gender, class, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion and disability in the U.S. and/or global context.		
	4.	Communicate an understanding of the ways in which inequitable treatment of groups by race,		

	ethnicity, disability, religion, sexual orientation, and/or gender inequality is socially constructed and politically implemented and maintained.	
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**AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT STATEMENT INCLUDED -
MARK ONE: () YES () NO**

All submitted syllabi *must* include a disability statement. Below is an example shared with the Diversity Collaborative Curriculum Subcommittee by the Director of Accessibility Services, SPU.

In accordance with SPU Policy 2130 and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), academic adjustments may be made for students with disabilities. Accessibility Resource Center, 100 Southwest Hall, (222) 555-1000 (voice/TT), coordinates accommodations and services. If you have a disability for which you may request academic adjustments and have not registered with their office, please do so as soon as possible. Also meet with me privately to discuss your specific accommodations and how they relate to course expectations and assignments.

**SYLLABI LEARNING OUTCOMES INCLUDED IN SYLLABUS INCLUDED –
MARK ONE: () YES () NO**

All submitted syllabi must include clear and identifiable student learning outcomes/goals/objectives.

**U.S. & GLOBAL DIVERSITY & INCLUSION EVALUATION QUESTIONS
(OPTIONAL):**

1. This course sought to promote a broad-scale understanding of the culture, history or current circumstance of diverse groups of people who have experienced historic and/or contemporary inequitable treatment in the U.S. or global context with a primary emphasis on one or more of the following: gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, (dis)ability, spirituality, language, residency status, and/or other marginalized group. On the following scale, how well did this course address the diversity curriculum criteria described above?

1. Strongly agree

2. Agree
 3. Unsure/neutral
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly disagree
2. The primary emphasis of the class content was focused on helping me understand social inequalities in any of the following social dimensions (e.g., race, gender, class, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability) in the U.S. and/or the global context.
- a. Yes or No
3. Additional comments:

Appendix D: Crenshaw Structural, Political and Representation Intersectionality

Mapping the Margins: Linking the Macro, Meso & Micro Dimensions of

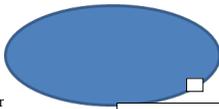
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Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991); Interaction and co- constructions of race and gender to shape multiple experience; focus on Employment & Violence – Battering & Rape; notice how the identity of “the group” centered on the intersectional identity (statuses) of a few

STRUCTURAL: ways in which the locations of women of color at the intersection makes experience different

Waiver for immigrant women; cultural barrier

Tribal women and rape



POLITICAL: antiracist and feminist politics ignore women of color

Feminist movement ignores racism in reprod rights; rape not a minority problem; rape in min community not newsworthy

Antiracist movement ignores Patriarchy; silencing intragroup violence; also relevant in LGBTQ communities; see critique of social science LaFree

Support Services location and rules exclude non-English; transgendered; fetish of “good intentions” support the hypocrisy of requiring English and imminent harm risk

REPRESENTATIONAL: cultural construction in popular culture; disempowerment

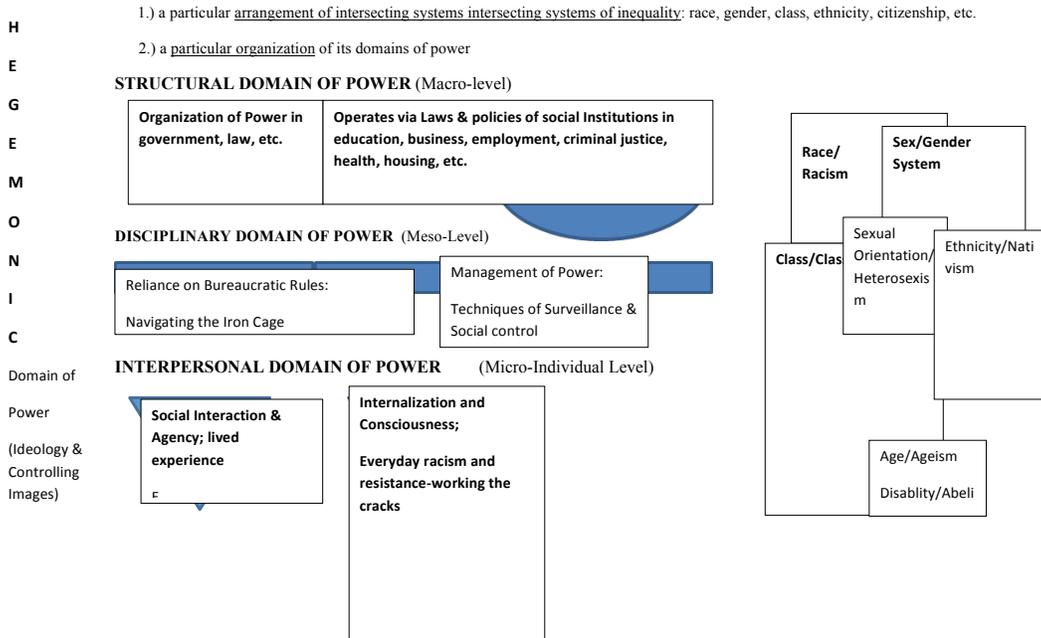
Devaluation of women of color

Two Live Crew arrest ignored impact on Black women

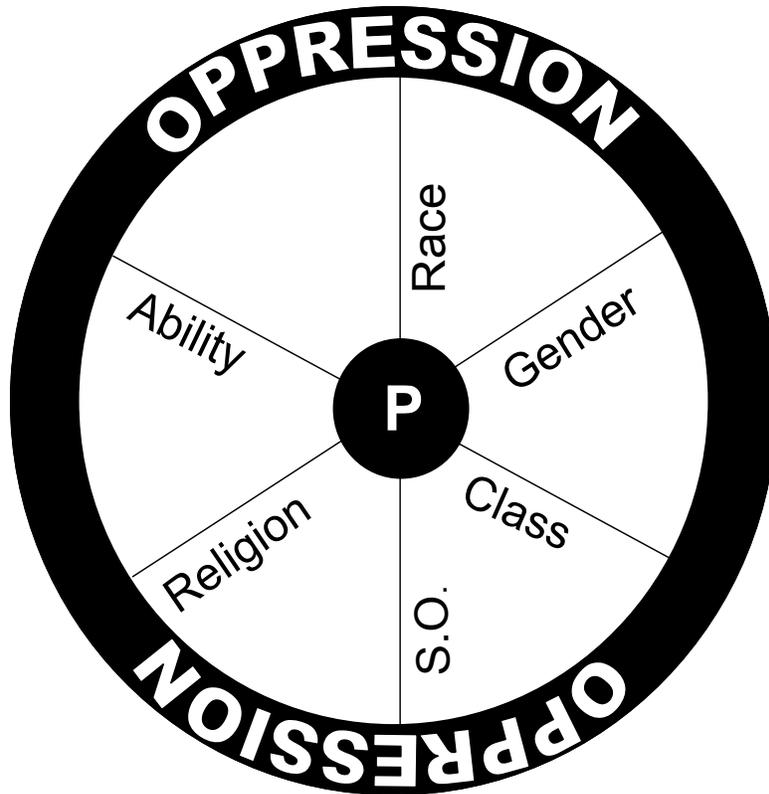
Appendix E: Collins Matrix of Domination

Visualizing the Matrix of Domination (Collins, 2009)

Overall organization of hierarchical power relations in society with two components:



Appendix F: Wheel of Oppression



Appendix G

List of Fetishes

Below is a partial list of some of the fetishes and distractions we encountered:

- # 1: Diversity is like sunshine; it's everywhere ; we are de facto diversity experts so this requirement is unnecessary; besides we already have diverse students from every part of the globe with very many different culture backgrounds
- # 2: We Need to Protect Students from “Extra” Requirement (particularly our STEM)
- # 3: Just speaking a world language makes you aware of cultural difference so just meeting world language is the same as meeting the diversity requirement
- #4: You are privileging race, gender, disability, and sexual orientation over other forms of diversity including “diversity of thought.” You have a narrow definition; need to include diversity of thought, ideas, and international students.
- # 5: Words like oppression are disciplinary jargon; we talk about culture and difference
- #6: Diversity should be in every class so we don't need a separate requirement

Counternarratives: Speaking Truth to Power

Below is a list of counter narratives we developed in response to the ideological fetishes we encountered.

1. “You mean when you see people who are homeless or immigrant mother waiting for the bus while her children live in substandard housing you don't understand why this is oppression?”
2. “We have plenty of courses in the core curriculum (added ethnic studies courses to the core)”
3. “If world languages automatically count as fulfilling the diversity requirement and everyone is required to take world languages then the requirement is

- nullified. This is not what you intended is it? Also, consider how know a world language does not automatically ensure that you are learning about equity and inclusion. For example, would a neo-Nazis and or other individual involved in racist, homophobic and sexist institutions, and others who may speak multiple languages automatically understand equity and inclusion?”
4. “Tell me more about what equity and diversity means to you. Diversity and inclusion is not about personalities or who likes to wear flip-flops to work.
 5. Students with disabilities and international students or languages, were never excluded as long as learning outcomes were addressed.
 6. What are you afraid will happen if we have a diversity & inclusion requirement that focuses on solutions to social inequalities for entire categories of people that have experienced historic and contemporary oppression?”
 7. “We agree that all courses should include diversity and inclusion. Do you mean every course will dedicate their primary learning outcomes and course content to diversity & inclusion learning outcomes?”
 8. “Academic freedom includes peer review by people who have expertise in a given area. All of the members of the Diversity Council Curriculum Subcommittee are voting members of the faculty and they each have PhDs as well as lengthy research, publications, teaching and community engaged scholar activists service records in the areas of diversity, equity and inclusion. Do you mean that faculty that have no record of scholarship in this area are able to able to determine what counts as diversity?”
 9. Some of our peer institutions employ contextualized peer reviews whereby those with expertise in a given subject matter serve to review syllabi. Even the institutional review board on this campus seeks the input of experts in a given field before authorizing scholarship in an area where none of the reviewers have this expertise. The peer review process may be comprised if the peer review process is expanded to include people with no expertise in equity and inclusion.

10. The faculty constitution may be compromised if there are procedural violations and improper considerations.”